

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 01192 070130Z

15

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 097358

O P 061730Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2552X

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 1192

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: CONVERSATION WITH CARAMANLIS

1. FOLLOWING A SMALL PRIVATE DINNER LAST NIGHT AT THE PERSONAL APARTMENT OF FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS I WAS ABLE TO HAVE A PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND SEVERAL OTHER MATTERS OF CURRENT INTEREST (SEPTELS). HE WAS IN ONE OF HIS IRASCIBLE MOODS, THINGS HAVE NOT BEEN GOING TOO WELL FOR HIM THESE PAST FEW DAYS AND HE WAS STILL SMOLDERING FROM HIS ANGER AND FRUSTRATION OF LAST WEEKEND AND EARLY THIS WEEK ABOUT THE EC COMMISSION'S REPORT ON GREECE.

2. ON CYPRUS, HIS OVERALL MOOD AND ATTITUDE WAS ONE OF EXASPERATION AND -- TO SOME EXTENT -- RESIGNATION. "WHAT MORE CAN I DO?", HE ASKED. "WHY DON'T THEY (THE TURKS) ACCEPT? I HAVE OFFERED THEM EVERYTHING THEY HAVE ASKED FOR." THEN HE TICKED OFF FOR ME, AS HE HAS SO MANY TIMES BEFORE, WHAT THE TURKS HAVE SAID IN THE PAST THAT THEY HAVE WANTED AND THEN, COMMENTING ON HIS OWN POINTS, STATED THAT HE AND MAKARIOS HAVE SENT WORD NUMEROUS TIMES TO THE TURKS THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A "PACKAGE DEAL" OF A TWO-ZONE SETTLEMENT, WITH 25
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 01192 070130Z

PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY IN THE TURKISH ZONE,

AND "LOOSE POWERS" FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.
HE SAID THEY HAVE KNOWN THIS FOR SIX MONTHS AND HAVE
NEVER ACCEPTED NOR, FOR THAT MATTER, INDICATED WHAT
ELSE THEY WANTED, IF ANYTHING.

3. CARAMANLIS INDICATED HE WAS FED UP WITH TALKING
ABOUT THE SUBJECT. HE SAID HE HAD A STRONG GOVERNMENT
AND WAS VERY POPULAR IN GREECE. MOREOVER, HE WAS AN
EXTREMELY REASONABLE AND MODERATE MAN AS FAR AS A
CYPRUS SETTLEMENT WAS CONCERNED -- FAR MORE SO THAN ANY
OTHER GREEK LEADER HAD BEEN OR WAS LIKELY TO BE.
HOWEVER, NO ONE COULD EXPECT HIM TO REMAIN IN POWER
INDEFINITELY -- NOR FOR THAT MATTER TO RETAIN HIS
PRESENT DEGREE OF STRENGTH AND POPULARITY. WHY,
THEN, DID THE TURKS NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT
MOMENT TO REACH A SETTLEMENT? CARAMANLIS SAID THAT
IF THEY WOULD AGREE WITH THE MAIN LINES OF THE
SETTLEMENT INDICATED ABOVE THE WHOLE THING COULD BE
SETTLED "WITHIN 24 HOURS."

4. I ASKED CARAMANLIS WHAT HE WOULD DO IF THE
TURKS AGREED TO SUCH A SETTLEMENT AND MAKARIOS REFUSED.
CARAMANLIS SAID THAT MAKARIOS WOULD NOT REFUSE, THAT HE
HAD MAKARIOS' FIRM COMMITMENT ON THAT . (OTHER TOP
GOG OFFICIALS CLOSE TO CARAMANLIS HAVE TOLD ME THAT
CARAMANLIS WOULD "BREAK" WITH MAKARIOS IF THE TURKS WERE
WILLING TO SETTLE AND MAKARIOS RENEGED ON THEIR
AGREEMENT.) CARAMANLIS ASKED IF THE USG COULD NOT DO
MORE TO PERSUADE THE TURKS TO MOVE FORWARD NOW TOWARD
SUCH A SETTLEMENT. I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD THE IMPRESSION
THAT THE TURKS WERE, INDEED, READY TO NEGOTIATE A
SETTLEMENT AND THAT WE WERE TRYING TO DO EVERYTHING WE
COULD TO HELP FACILITATE IT. CARAMANLIS SAID, "I THINK
YOU CAN DO MORE, " AND WHEN I ASKED HIM SPECIFICALLY
WHAT HE THOUGHT WE COULD DO HE MERELY SHRUGGED AS
THOUGH TO SAY THAT A GREAT, POWERFUL COUNTRY SUCH AS
THE UNITED STATES MUST HAVE ITS WAYS. AS FOR THE
TURKS BEING READY FOR A SETTLEMENT, HE SCOFFED
AND SAID, "WE SHALL SEE".

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 01192 070130Z

5. LATER, AFTER CARAMANLIS HAD DEPARTED, I HAD AN
OPPORTUNITY FOR A FURTHER PRIVATE CONVERSATION ON
THIS SUBJECT WITH BITSIOS. WE WENT OVER MUCH OF THE SAME
GROUND AGAIN AND BITSIOS SAID THE OUTLOOK FOR VIENNA IV
WAS STILL CLOUDED. BITSIOS DENOUNCED CAGLAYANGIL'S
INTERPRETATION OF THEIR BRUSSELS UNDERSTANDING OF DEC 12,
SAYING THAT IT HAD BEEN CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD BETWEEN THEM THAT
THE QUESTION OF TERRITORY WOULD BE THE FIRST SUBJECT

DISCUSSED BY CLERIDES AND DENKTASH IN VIENNA, WITH CLERIDES MAKING A PROPOSAL, DENKTASH MAKING A RESPONSE, AND IF OVERALL AGREEMENT ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION WAS REACHED OR SEEMED POSSIBLE THEN THE MATTER WOULD BE REFERRED TO A SUBCOMMITTEE -- WITH GOG AND GOT REPRESENTATIVES TO ASSIST IF NECESSARY -- TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS. NOW, BITSIOS SAID, CAGLAYANGIL WAS GOING BACK ON THIS UNDERSTANDING, AND AS FAR AS DENKTASH SEEMED PREPARED TO GO WAS TO LISTEN TO CLERIDES' PROPOSAL ON TERRITORY WITHOUT DENKTASH MAKING ANY SUBSTANTIVE REPLY. BITSIOS SAID NO WONDER THE GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE RELUCTANT TO GO TO VIENNA AND PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CHARADE. IT ALLOWED THE TURKS TO PRETEND TO THE WORLD THAT THEY WERE SHOWING GOOD WILL AND A CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE, AND THAT THERE WAS MOVEMENT TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS WHEN, IN FACT, THERE WAS NONE. IT SIMPLY ALLOWED THE TURKS MORE TIME TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION ON THE ISLAND, WHICH EVIDENTLY WAS THE ONLY THING THEY WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN.

6. BITSIOS ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS VIEWS AND THOSE OF CARAMANLIS TO THE SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON SO HE WOULD NOT BE FOOLED BY CAGLAYANGIL IN THEIR MEETINGS NEXT WEEK, AND I SAID I WOULD DO SO. KUBISCH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, COMMUNITY RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC NOTES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ATHENS01192
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760046-0871
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760276/aaaacovq.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <28 JUL 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: CONVERSATION WITH CARAMANLIS
TAGS: PFOR, GR, TU, CY, US, (CARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006